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STUDIES

in the Spirituality of Jesuits



The Christ-Experience and Relationship
Fostered in the Spiritual Exercises
of St. Ignatius of Loyola
Robert L. Schmitt, S.J.

Published by the American Assistancy Seminar on Jesuit Spirituality,
especially for American Jesuits working out their aggiornamento
in the spirit of Vatican Council II

THE AMERICAN ASSISTANCY SEMINAR ON JESUIT SPIRITUALITY

consists of a group of Jesuits from various provinces who are listed below. The members were appointed by the Fathers Provincial of the United States. The purpose of the Seminar is to study topics pertaining to the spiritual doctrine and practice of Jesuits, especially American Jesuits, and to communicate the results to the members of the Assistancy. The hope is that this will lead to further discussion among all American Jesuits -- in private, or in small groups, or in community meetings. All this is done in the spirit of Vatican Council II's recommendation to religious institutes to recapture the original charismatic inspiration of their founders and to adapt it to the changed circumstances of modern times. The members of the Seminar welcome reactions or comments in regard to the topics they publish.

To achieve these purposes, especially amid today's pluralistic cultures, the Seminar must focus its direct attention sharply, frankly, and specifically on the problems, interests, and opportunities of the Jesuits of the United States. However, many of these interests are common also to Jesuits of other regions, or to other priests, religious men or women, or lay men or women. Hence the studies of the Seminar, while meant especially for American Jesuits, are not exclusively for them. Others who may find them helpful are cordially welcome to read them.

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by

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Editor's Foreword

Once more the American Assistancy Seminar is happy to present an essay by an associate member, Father Robert L. Schmitt, S.J. In October, 1973, he defended a doctoral dissertation at Fordham University, Bronx, New York, which bore the title: *The Image of Christ as Feudal Lord in the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola*. Since then he has been living at El Retiro San Inigo, Los Altos, California, where he has had extensive experience in giving spiritual direction and directed retreats. Part of his time, too, is spent in teaching Spiritual Theology at St. Patrick's Major Seminar, Menlo Park, California, and at the Jesuit School of Theology in Berkeley.

A member of his committee of examiners esteemed the dissertation very highly and called it to the attention of the Assistancy Seminar, which requested several of its members to examine it. They reported that, in their opinion, the work contains numerous insights which will lead many of our readers to a new and valuable understanding of the *Spiritual Exercises*. Consequently the Seminar invited Father Schmitt to attempt the difficult task of compressing the heart of his study into a length suitable for our series of *Studies*. He kindly consented, with the result that we now gladly put his work into the hands of our readers.

George E. Ganss, S.J., Chairman
The American Assistancy Seminar

THE CHRIST-EXPERIENCE AND RELATIONSHIP FOSTERED IN THE
SPIRITUAL EXERCISES OF ST. IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA

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INTRODUCTION

In the midst of all the turmoil that our Church and many of us have been experiencing, signs of a genuine renewal are blossoming. In one sense, history seems to be repeating itself. Just as they did four hundred years ago, St. Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises* are emerging today as an important instrument of renewal. However, the *Exercises* are a subtle instrument of God's grace. They demand *both* study and prayer. This issue of *Studies* is one response to this demand.¹

A great amount of study on the *Exercises* has already been accomplished in the last decades.² As a result there has developed in recent years a new focus and viewpoint for such studies.³ This viewpoint looks upon the *Exercises* as an organic unity that is the fruit of Ignatius' religious experience and is meant to foster an analogous experience in the exercitant.⁴ Since there is unanimous agreement that the person of Christ is central to the whole plan and dynamic of both the book of the *Exercises* and of the *Exercises* directed or made according to it,^{*} this experience is seen as being primarily a Christ-experience.⁵ This emphasis on Christ does not deny the strong Trinitarian focus of the *Exercises*. Rather, it affirms it because Christ is focused on precisely as the bridge by which we enter into the

1 The footnotes are below on page 249.

* [Editor's note. Throughout this study, the term *Spiritual Exercises* (in italics) is used when the term means (or predominantly includes) the printed book; and Spiritual Exercises (roman but with capitals) when the term refers to the activities within a retreat. It should be remembered, however, that everything in the book envisages practice.]

Trinitarian life.

These studies have also emphasized that the presentation of the Exercises was meant to be adapted to each exercitant.⁶ The obvious differences between sixteenth and twentieth century man make the need to adapt the Exercises today both more apparent and more difficult to satisfy. For a modern director the first rule in adapting the Exercises has to be: one cannot adapt what he does not first understand and appreciate in itself and in its own setting.⁷ The call then for adaptation includes a call for directors to understand the *Exercises*, and especially the Christ-experience and resulting relationship, from Ignatius' vantage point.

The purpose of this paper is to help people understand and appreciate more the basic experience of Christ and the relationship with him fostered in the *Exercises*. The contention is that the experience and relationship can be better appreciated against the background of the imagery of Christ as feudal lord and the characteristics of the lord-vassal relationship. Since such imagery is very foreign to us it will be necessary to spend some time and effort seeking to appreciate the meaning and value of the imagery within its historical context. The basic structure of this paper will be: (1) some preliminary remarks on the goal of the *Spiritual Exercises* and the role of images in it, (2) a sketch of the lord-vassal ideal as it historically developed in medieval Europe, (3) a study of the Christ-experience and relationship fostered in the *Exercises* in terms of the four key characteristics of the feudal lord (provider, protector, leader, and friend), and (4) a discussion of the viability of such imagery and the resulting relationship for modern man.

PART I. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

A. The Goal of the Exercises

There has been a controversy in this century on whether the goal of the *Exercises* is union with God or the making of an election.⁸ Now some are coming to see those categories as too narrow. For one thing, they seem to make a distinction between union and service, a distinction that

would be foreign to Ignatius.⁹ By encounter I mean a direct confrontation or meeting of another person at a deeply personal level in such a way that one is changed; it involves a mutual revealing and sharing, a dialogue of love which means that each party has somehow "experienced" the other.

In the Exercises such an encounter with Christ involves and results in an ordering of one's whole self (Ignatius' way of expressing the goal of the Exercises).¹¹ For Ignatius, one is most himself, most human and most free, when he is rightly ordered. Such an ordering has two directions or dimensions: (1) interior order of the various aspects within a man (his being whole or "together") and (2) exterior order or the proper relationship of a man toward Christ (God) and the world. Ordering and encounter become two aspects of the same goal. On the one hand order, both interior and exterior, is the fruit of an encounter with Christ. On the other, attempts at ordering, attempts to "conquer oneself," are the necessary preparation for a deeper encounter with Christ.

B. The Christ-image

The book of the *Exercises* is not a theological work attempting to present a Christology but a practical work fostering an encounter with Christ. Central to the encounter is the exercitant's growth in a knowledge of Christ that is more than conceptual, that involves a knowing with the heart as well as with the head (what Ignatius calls "interior knowledge").¹² Scholars such as Carl Jung and Mircea Eliade have helped us rediscover the value of images and symbols for such knowledge.¹³ At the same time Ignatian scholars such as Joseph de Guibert and John C. Futrell have shown that, contrary to the supposition of many, images played a key role in the mystical experience and expression of Ignatius.¹⁴ To appreciate more, then, the encounter with Christ fostered in the *Exercises*, attention should be paid to the images used there.

Before focusing on a specific image a few words on my understanding of images should be helpful. An image is a vehicle through which we attain reality non-conceptually; it is a way of coming to know that involves a person both intellectually and emotionally. As such it touches and calls for a response from the whole man. In this process of "attaining reality,"

the image must not be confused with the reality it represents. A viewer must get beyond the image to the reality itself; but he does this only by entering into the image, by going through it and not around it.¹⁵

The purpose of a Christ-image is to point to Christ, to reveal something of his person not in terms of exterior trappings but in terms of his heart and mind, in terms of his inner meaning. It is meant to reveal something of the significance of Christ that then fosters a certain type of experience and relationship. It does this by means of a metaphor, by means of what is already known by a man and emotionally and intellectually appreciated by him. Thus, "lamb of God" is an image. Christ is not literally a sacrificial lamb and yet the image helps reveal who Christ is and can be said to be more revealing than any realistic reproduction or photograph.

In the *Exercises* there are a variety of images, for example, "Lord," "King," "divine goodness," "knight," "enemy of human nature." Although the feudal imagery is developed in detail in several important places, it is not carried through as much as it could be; nor does it remain central in Ignatius' later writings. When I began my research, the feudal lord imagery was intended to be just one section of the study. However, as I proceeded I discovered that the characteristics of that image pervade the entire *Exercises* and offer a way to appreciate better the Christ-relationship fostered by all the images and exercises within them.

In the light of the way the *Exercises* came to birth and final form this discovery is not surprising.¹⁶ The *Exercises* are primarily the fruit of Ignatius' experience at Manresa (March, 1522 - February, 1523). At that time Ignatius was a layman, uneducated and full of feudal imagery. According to sources close to him, the meditation on the Call of the King and that on the Two Standards were focal points for him at that time.¹⁷ It is these meditations that employ explicit feudal imagery. Over the next twenty years, with help from his subsequent studies and experiences in directing others, Ignatius carefully molded the *Exercises* into their final form. In all this he labored that the *Exercises* might better foster in others an experience analogous to his own at Manresa.

To understand and appreciate the feudal lord image we must now attempt

to place ourselves at Ignatius' point in time. Since this image is primarily an image of relationship, our focus will be on the relationship it is meant to foster and express.

PART II. THE LORD-VASSAL RELATIONSHIP

This section focuses on the feudal ideal rather than on the far from ideal ways it was lived out, because it was the ideal rather than the reality that fired the imagination of Ignatius. By his day feudalism as *the* social and legal structure in Europe was dying, but as an ideal it burned brighter than ever. Johan Huizinga and others have compared it to the rays of the setting sun.¹⁸ However, ideals do not grow in mid-air but are born and nourished in the soil of the age.

A. Historical Roots

The roots of this relationship stretch back to the Germanic tribes and to groups called by Tacitus *comitatus*.¹⁹ Each group consisted of warriors who *freely* took service under a chieftain and fought with him and on his behalf as a band of close comrades. This was a highly personal relationship that emphasized friendship with the chieftain, loyalty, bravery, and mutual service.

The later centuries, the sixth and seventh, brought a period of chaos and struggle both among and within families. In this time of crisis a local ruler often could rely neither on his kinsmen, because of their envy and greed, nor on the larger state because of its weakness. As a result, he sought to develop personal, reliable relationships with men whom he could trust and rely on in time of battle. In response to this situation there developed a definite rite (*commendatio*), a juridical act that both legalized and solemnized a "lord-vassal" relationship. With it went obligations that sought to bring security and order for each party: service and respect for the lord, aid and support for the vassal. This rite was a contract that ceased only on the death of either party. It was entered into because of the quality of the other person. Thus it was made *intuitu*

*personae.*²⁰

In the following century, the Carolingian period, the number and status of vassals continued to grow. One significant cause was the joining to the institution of vassalage the granting of a *beneficium*. The lord would grant his new vassal a benefice, usually some land that was to be held by him for life, and supplied him with the maintenance that he needed. This granting of benefices raised both the status and freedom of the vassals.

The movement in Europe toward order and security soon crumbled with attacks from three sides, in the south from the Moslems, in the east from the Hungarians, and in the north from the Norsemen. The attack from the south involved the almost total conquest of Spain in the second decade of the eighth century. This sudden event, joined with centuries-long efforts at reconquest completed only in 1492, had a strong influence on Ignatius and can be seen in the exercise on the Call of the King.

B. The Golden Age of Feudalism

As a result of these attacks there soon developed an environment of insecurity. Pillage became so familiar an event that prudent people took account of it in their legal agreements.²¹ One example of the depths of this insecurity is that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle shows much less surprise over the capture in 1061 of one of the greatest nobles in England by a handful of bandits at the gates of Rome, and over the ransom demanded for him, than it does over a successful journey of a group from Aquitaine to Troyes.²² The age cried out, then, for reliable relationships, especially between a lord and his warriors. In this turmoil about the only stable element (besides some blood relationships) had been certain lord-vassal relationships. Thus, it is not surprising that this lord-vassal relationship became a highly important element in medieval Europe's struggle to create a secure and ordered society. It was in this period, the tenth to thirteenth centuries, that Europe prospered under the system now called "Classical Feudalism." At this time the increase of wealth through *beneficia*, the special relationship a vassal had with his lord, and the religious value and honor given knights by the first Crusades placed certain vassals (knights) as the nobles of the land.

However, with this new position of honor there developed a distinction between being a vassal and being a knight. Special ceremonies evolved to initiate a man into a special *ordo* of knighthood.²³ A knight was "ordained" into an order that made him a brother with all other knights. He was a warrior-noble. A man could be a vassal and not a knight or vice versa. If he were both, each stressed different aspects of his relationship with the lord. As a vassal a man was in a hierarchic relationship with the lord, as a knight he was his equal. As will be seen later, in the *Exercises* the exercitant is imaged as both a knight and a vassal. Our focus is on a vassal who is a knight. Therefore, unless stated otherwise, when the term vassal or knight is used it is meant to refer to a man who is both a vassal and a knight.

1. The Rite

An excellent way to seek a better understanding of the idealized lord-vassal relationship is precisely through the rite that evolved and was meant to express solemnly and publicly the nature of the contract being made.²⁴ The rite consisted of several elements. The first was "homage," which usually consisted of a symbolic action (*immixtio manuum*) and a declaration of intent. The action usually consisted in the vassal's kneeling bareheaded and weaponless before the lord. He placed his hands between those of the lord who then closed his own hands over them. The meaning of this act was then expressed by a declaration of intent, using such words as "Sire, I become your man (*homo*)," followed by the lord's response, "I receive you and take you as my man." There is here the formation of a very personal bond: One hands oneself over to another (*se commendare*) and is accepted, places oneself in another's hands both to serve and to be served (provided for and protected).

A second element in the act of commendation was an oath of fealty made by the vassal with his hand on the Bible or on a casket containing relics. The form of the oath varied. One form used was: "I promise to be as faithful to you as a vassal should be to his lord, and to be a friend to all of your friends and an enemy to all of your enemies."²⁵ To break this oath was to be guilty of mortal sin, a consideration taken seriously in an age of faith. Besides adding a religious strength to the relationship the oath

expressed that this relationship was formed both freely and for life.

These two elements became the core of the act of becoming a vassal.²⁶ There were, however, two other elements often present in the act. One was a ceremonial kiss that expressed that the basis of the relationship was meant to be friendship filled with personal care and concern. The other was some form of investiture (a symbolic act of transferring a property right) by which the lord showed how he would maintain his vassal.

The rite signified, then, the entering into a definite, personal relationship, a relationship that involved the taking on of certain obligations which could be properly performed only when done out of love. For the vassal this meant primarily deeds of service, of giving aid and counsel (*auxilium et consilium*); for the lord it meant giving protection and maintenance, being the vassal's leader and friend.

As we draw closer to Ignatius' time we find that feudalism and this particular relationship ceased to be the basic structural form for European society. Nevertheless, this idealized relationship remained dominant in the world of ideals. Johan Huizinga explains this as an escape from the pessimism of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries into an ideal past.²⁷ Whether that is the basic reason or not, the fact remains that this relationship remained an ideal that would fire Ignatius' imagination at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

C. The Ideal

Through the above historical sketch we are now in a better position to appreciate the basic form and flavor of the idealized lord-vassal relationship. The ideal came to birth in reaction to an environment of insecurity and violence. In a search for protection and security, for peace and order, men sought for ways to form lasting, reliable bonds with others, and specifically with proficient warriors. They sought for a hierarchic relationship that was for the mutual benefit of both parties and that was based on something more reliable than a mercenary motive. The lord-vassal relationship developed as the answer. It was a hierarchic and covenant relationship based on friendship and love, personal concern and interest. Thus it fostered a sense of security and order.

How strong these bonds of friendship through vassalage were meant to be can be seen by a comparison with medieval bonds of blood and marriage. Despite bloody family battles, a man usually turned to kinsmen for friendship and support. Yet as time went on ties of vassalage actually came to take precedence over those of blood. Thus in the *Book of Fiefs* in Italy we read: "Vassals must help their lord against everyone--against their brothers, against their sons, against their fathers."²⁸ Such words make us think of the marriage covenant as well as the gospel commitment to Christ.

For the medieval man vassalage usually expressed a deeper and higher form of love than marriage. One reason was that, in the order of ideals, marriage was often not a matter of personal choice whereas vassalage was. It is difficult for us from our modern viewpoint to realize that lord-vassal love, rather than marriage love, was extolled as the deepest of bonds. C. S. Lewis describes the depth of this love:

The deepest of worldly emotions in this period is the love of man for man, the mutual love of warriors who die together fighting against odds, and the affection between vassal and lord. We shall never understand this last, if we think of it in the light of our moderated and impersonal loyalties.²⁹

When it came to days of battle, the lord and his vassal obviously shared deeply together. But this intimacy, at least in the ideal order, was not limited to that time. The vassal was called on to share not just in the days of struggle but also in the days of rest and enjoyment, not just in the days of battle but also in the days of decision-making. A relationship that shared only bad times would not be a deep love relationship.

With the growth of the ideal of the lord-vassal relationship there developed a corresponding ethical system, the picture of an ideal man with specific virtues. Since the whole *raison d'être* of the relationship was the development of reliable bonds, the most praised virtue became that of fidelity. The entire structure of the ideal nourished a certain "mystique" of service and fidelity that involved a commitment to serve one's lord at any price. Since that service was often in warfare, courage was given special honor. This emphasis encouraged a new attitude toward suffering, an attitude of being willing and even desiring to suffer in service, because suffering was seen as a *special* act of service.³⁰ The truly noble

and courageous vassal was the one who not only was willing to suffer for his lord but also refused to be overcome in any way by suffering. Thus he would show no fear when faced with suffering nor any sign of pain while enduring it.³¹

Other virtues given a special place in this ideal include generosity. The vassal truly generous both to his lord and to other knights was highly honored. Likewise, the lord generous toward his vassals was widely praised and, what was of great importance, would attract men searching for a worthy lord to serve. Since the vassal shared not only in the lord's life in battle but also in court, there grew greater emphasis on courtesy and etiquette of court. It was no longer enough to be a crude but effective warrior. Finally, connected with this and central to the whole ideal was the focus on honor and glory. To live this ideal was to live in a truly noble way, to be worthy of honor and glory. This was the motive that drove the knight onward.

1. The Role of the King

In this study it is important to understand the role of the king. Feudalism, and thus the lord-vassal relationship, was founded on a definite hierarchic structure which was shaped like a pyramid. At the head of the pyramid, at the summit of the entire feudal system in the realm, was the king. He was the supreme overlord, the *dominus superior*. By reason of his office he was sacred. He was Christ's representative and image.³² Thus he was called *vicarius Christi*, *imago Christi*, and the perfect *christomimētēs*.

Since the king was recognized as the supreme feudal lord, some type of lord-vassal relationship was meant to exist between the king and nobles of the land. However, there was a different element to this relationship, an element that justifies the statement that the king was paradoxically at the peak of the feudal system while being at the same time above the system itself. As has been seen, the lord-vassal relationship was based on a freely entered into one-to-one public covenant. Seeing the king as *vicarius Christi* and as supreme lord, or one's "natural lord" by his position in the realm, indicates that unless a noble entered into a special covenant relationship with the king, there was not the same type of free choice involved in the

relationship. However, kings often fostered such covenant relationships precisely as a way of strengthening bonds with nobles in the land. In theory they might not have to do this, but one can see at least psychologically an element of difference when such a relationship was made.³³

2. The Spanish Ideal

Although the feudal ideal was basically the same throughout sixteenth-century Europe, there was a specific flavor to the Spanish ideal, a flavor developed primarily because of the seven hundred year experience of slowly reconquering Spain from the Moors. Such an experience helped give a greater emphasis on the role of the king as the one to lead Spanish Christians to victory over the infidels.³⁴

Contrary to what one might expect, the final defeat of the Moors in 1492 heightened rather than diminished this atmosphere. Ferdinand and Isabella brought a golden age to Spain with special emphasis on the role of the king as supreme lord. There was a new burst of vitality that had a distinctive flavor for those days. The Reformation never touched Spain. Rather, Ignatius inaugurates the golden age of Spanish mysticism. At the same time there blossomed what Leturia calls "the spirit of a world-wide crusade."³⁵ Energies that had been spent on the final expulsion of the Moors grew and sought new avenues for expression. The crusader became the conquistador. Ignatius was not the only one in that age to be caught up in dreams of great deeds of chivalry and honor. An expression of this was the sudden development and popularity of novels of chivalry.

D. Forms of the Relationship in Literature

Before we turn to our study of the *Exercises*, it will be helpful to spend a few moments studying the lord-vassal relationship in the books that greatly influenced Ignatius either before or during his days of conversion. We will not find there a focus on the relationship itself, but on the structure of that relationship used as a model for other relationships: for a knight's relationship with his beloved, and for a Christian's relationship with Christ.

1. Courtly Love

A strong influence on Ignatius before his conversion was the romance novel *Amadis of Gaul*.³⁶ It is a four volume novel written by García Ordonez de Montalvo and published around 1508. It was extremely popular and has been described by Senor Menéndez y Pelayo as "the first idealistic modern novel, the epic of loyalty in love, . . . which schooled many generations."³⁷ It tells of the adventures of Amadis, a knight-errant, of his love for Oriana, the daughter of Lisuarte, King of England. As a knight, Amadis is incessantly searching for glory that depends on deeds of bravery and loyalty and constantly demands new deeds to stoke it. As a knight-errant, Amadis is not bound as a vassal to any lord. Rather, in the tradition of courtly love Oriana takes the place of the lord in his life.

Courtly love is what C. S. Lewis calls "the feudalization of love."³⁸ The beloved becomes the knight's lord. He even addresses her with such a term as *midons*, etymologically signifies, not "my lady," but "my lord." The relationship takes on all the characteristics and structure of the lord-vassal relationship. It is freely entered into by both parties. It is a relationship of love with emphasis on service, fidelity, self-sacrifice, courage, and disdain of pain and suffering. Finally, like the lord-vassal relationship, the courtly love relationship is definitely a hierarchic one. The lady is to be revered and obeyed at all costs. Thus Amadis is willing to (and does) choose death rather than disobey even an unjust command of Oriana (which he will never admit is unjust). He is saved, but not through any effort on his part.³⁹ To be so obedient is not seen as demeaning but as a source of glory and honor.

2. Knight of Christ

The structure of the lord-vassal relationship became a model not only for a knight's love of his lady but also of a man's relationship to God, Christ, and the saints. That is seen most clearly in the religious poetry of Ignatius' time, poetry that Ignatius both read and wrote.⁴⁰ There the saint is often described as becoming a knight through a covenant act that created a mutual relationship, which in turn focused on a love lived out in a warfare against a common enemy.⁴¹ The joined-hands gesture of homage

(described above) was used for entering into this relationship with Christ. In fact, instead of praying with open hands as their ancestors did, medieval Christians prayed with joined hands. Marc Bloch writes:

But beyond doubt the most eloquent testimony to the universal prevalence of the spirit of vassalage is to be found in the transformations of religious ritual itself. The ancient attitude of prayer, with hands outstretched, was replaced by the gesture of the joined hands, borrowed from "commendation," and this became throughout Catholic Christendom the characteristic praying form. Before God, the good Christian in his inmost soul saw himself as a vassal bending the knee before his lord.⁴²

Our final step before turning to a study of the *Exercises* is to discuss the two books that strongly influenced Ignatius during his conversion and convalescence at Loyola. They are important because it is immediately after this that Ignatius entered into his year at Manresa where the *Exercises* were born. In discussing these books it should be remembered that Ignatius came to them filled with feudal imagery from his life style as well as from his reading of romance novels such as *Amadis of Gaul* and from his reading and writing of religious poetry.

One of the "conversion books" was the *Flos Sanctorum* of Jacobus de Voragine (1228-1298).⁴³ The book contains the lives of approximately one hundred and fifty saints plus thirty-three narrations concerning the life and death of Jesus and Mary. The Spanish edition read by Ignatius contained a preface by Fray Gauberto Vagad that was meant to color one's reading of the book. Vagad saw his own entrance into the Cistercians as a passage from being a knight of the world to that of being a knight of God. The preface is dedicated to that theme. The saints are seen as God's knights (*caballeros de Dios*), and sanctity is spoken of in terms of service that is a response to God's love and is expressed primarily in carrying the cross.⁴⁴

The tone set by Vagad is certainly not foreign to what follows. Each saint is portrayed as a hero of superhuman proportions who personifies the dreams and ideals of the people. At times the portrayal is in feudal imagery (for example, the lives of Dominic and Francis). But whether explicit feudal imagery is used or not, there is always the same focus on two key elements in sanctity: sanctity involves service in and through struggle.

The model of life as warfare is on every page. Even when Jacobus uses the popular medieval image of life as a pilgrimage, it is a pilgrimage through numerous obstacles. With this focus there goes more of an emphasis on the penance of a saint like Dominic than on his apostolic work. This is the combat of a knight of Christ. With such a view it is not surprising that Christ is portrayed as the Lord who comes to help in the battle and to reward his knights. He and his knights do battle out of love for each other.

The other book read by Ignatius at this time was *Vita Christi* by Ludolph of Saxony (died 1378).⁴⁵ It was an extremely influential devotional book in the late Middle Ages and has been called by Brodrick and others the first formal life of Christ. Its content is a bouquet of teachings from the Fathers and medieval theologians concerning the gospel events; and it is meant not for mere reading but for *lectio pia* in the full medieval sense of prayerful meditating. The work is, then, a manual of meditation.

Although feudal imagery is not strong in Ludolph's *Vita Christi*, the structure of the image of Christ as a type of feudal lord is there clearly enough to be recognized by one filled with such a world view. This focus was heightened by the Spanish translator, Fray Ambrosio Montesino, who added more of an explicit feudal flavor to his translation. The work stresses the depth of Christ's love, a love shown primarily in deeds of suffering. It also stresses that such love calls for a response of loving service. As in the *Flos Sanctorum*, so too here the author portrays service primarily in terms of the cross and of life as warfare.

E. Summary

The purpose of this section has been to place the reader in a better position to understand and appreciate the presentation of Christ in the *Exercises* by helping him appreciate the lord-vassal relationship in its historical context. We have seen that the relationship, answering to a dramatic need for security and order, was based on a personal love relationship between a lord and his warrior. This hierarchic relationship rested on a solemn, public covenant which bound the vassal to serve his lord faithfully in battle and at court, and which bound the lord to provide for and protect his vassal, to be his leader and friend. The key

virtue became fidelity in service. Finally, we have seen that this relationship became, in literature read by Ignatius, a model for other relationships: for the love of a knight and his lady, and for the relationship between a Christian and Christ.

PART III. THE CHRIST-IMAGE OF THE EXERCISES

The theme of this essay is that the type of Christ-experience and relationship fostered in the *Exercises* is best understood against the background of the lord-vassal relationship. To see this image of Christ in the *Exercises* will now be studied under the four major characteristics of a feudal lord: (1) provider, (2) protector, (3) leader, and (4) friend. The emphasis in this study will not be on the question of how much explicit feudal imagery colors the *Exercises*, but on how the characteristics and structure of the lord-vassal relationship between lord and vassal pervade the relationship between Christ and the exercitant, as well as the whole atmosphere and dynamic of the *Exercises*.

Before we begin this, however, a few words should be said about the title "Señor." It is given to Christ so often in the *Exercises* that it sounds like a proper name.⁴⁶ Since this title is both a biblical one and a feudal one, how does one approach it in the *Exercises*? The supposition here is that the distinction between "Lord" in a biblical sense and "Lord" in a feudal sense is a sophisticated distinction which a modern scholar would make, but certainly not an uneducated Ignatius whose world had been so full of feudal imagery before Manresa, and who then spent so many hours praying Scripture against that background as well as the experience of his "conversion books." It is assumed, then, that the title "Señor" will have biblical and feudal overtones. This study of how much the characteristics and structure of the feudal lord image pervade all the *Exercises* does not rest on this assumption but will verify it.

A. Christ as Provider

The theme of Christ as provider is expressed in the *Exercises* not so

much in feudal terms as in the traditional terms of creation. However, as we shall see, the Creator-creature relationship in the *Exercises* has the same form and emphasis as the lord-vassal relationship, that is, the Creator gives the exercitant all he needs so that he can serve his Lord. This theme and relationship is at the heart of the *Exercises*. Thus, both the Principle and Foundation ([25]),⁴⁷ which leads into the *Exercises*, and the Contemplation for obtaining Love ([230-237]), which ends them and forms a bridge back to the world, are presented completely in terms of a Creator-creature relationship. Moreover, throughout the *Exercises* God is often called Creator and the exercitant is repeatedly reminded that he and all else on earth are creatures.⁴⁸

The obvious objection to such statements about creation is that our focus is on Christ and not on God the Father or the Trinity. This is not a problem for Ignatius. In the first exercise of the first week ([45-54]) he guides the exercitant toward his first encounter with Christ in the *Exercises*. The Christ he points to is unambiguously called our Creator ([53]).⁴⁹ For Ignatius Christ is the Word made Flesh and as the Word he shared in the work of creation.

Although the title "Creator" is used about twenty-six times in the *Exercises*, it is used only one other time explicitly of Christ ([229]). Does that effect what we will say about Christ as Creator? I think not. Most modern scholars maintain, as does Hugo Rahner, that "whenever Ignatius spoke of God as our 'creator and Lord,' . . . he was thinking of Jesus Christ."⁵⁰ Some others like William Peters maintain that Ignatius is thinking of the Trinity.⁵¹ Either way Christ is seen as Creator, as being a part of that divine activity of pouring forth being and life. Thus, even if one agrees with Peters, what is said in the *Exercises* of God as Creator and man's relationship to him obviously applies to Christ as part of the Trinity, as one explicitly called Creator, and as the one on whom the *Exercises* most focus. It is maintained here, then, that we can rely on all that the *Exercises* say about the Creator-creature relationship to reveal a dimension of the Christ-exercitant relationship.

In the *Exercises* Christ's creative activity is seen as expressing an

intimate love and infinite goodness toward the exercitant. It encourages the exercitant to place his whole trust and love in him. Christ's (God's) creative activity is seen as a continuous activity and as a work not just to give gifts but ultimately to give himself:

I will ponder with great affection how much God our Lord has done for me, and how much He has given me of what He possesses, and finally, how much, as far as He can, the same Lord desires to give Himself to me according to His divine decrees ([234]).

Ignatius emphasizes that in the *Exercises* themselves Christ (God) will be at work directly for and in the exercitant. He stresses that the Creator-creature relationship is one of such unique intimacy that only the Creator can work directly on the creature giving him consolation without a previous cause ([330]). Finally, besides revealing his intimate love, Christ's creative activity reveals that he is "Infinite Goodness" or "Divine Goodness." At Manresa Ignatius experienced a mystical insight into creation and came to see how all goodness comes from the Creator. It is not surprising then that Ignatius applies the title of Divine or Infinite Goodness to the Creator ([20, 52, 98, 151, 157]). Thus, for Ignatius to call Christ Creator was to speak of him as one to be trusted and loved totally.

All the exercitant has is seen as gift from his Creator. But, as the lord gives his vassal *beneficia* for a purpose, so Christ as Creator gives all to the exercitant, not as "pure gift," but for the purpose that he can then better serve his Lord.⁵² This viewpoint is at the heart of the *Exercises*; it is the foundation on which they are built. To understand this view better we will comment on it under two aspects: (1) Christ's right to receive service, and (2) creatures being given to help man serve.

The emphasis on Christ's right to service and to a service that is whole-hearted and single-minded is obviously at the core of the vision of the *Exercises*.⁵³ It is expressed at least implicitly in the Principle and Foundation, and made explicit in the first meditation on sin, that service of Christ is the whole meaning of one's existence. The exercitant returns to this theme at the beginning of each prayer period as he prays "that all my intentions, actions, and operations may be directed purely to the praise and service of His Divine Majesty" ([46]). This is the focus of all the

contemplations of Christ's life where the fruit prayed for is "an intimate knowledge of our Lord, who has become man for me, that I may love Him more and follow Him more closely" ([104]).

In this context it is not surprising, then, that sin is seen as a refusal to reverence and obey (or serve) Christ. For Ignatius the malice of this refusal is not seen in terms of breaking a law but in terms of an act of ingratitude against and betrayal of a person, of one's generous Lord. Thus there is in the first week the constant contrast between the Lord's generosity and the exercitant's refusal to respond. The exercitant must realize something of how he has been gifted *before* he can realize the malice of his sin. This is why Winoc de Broucker writes that for Ignatius "Only creatures who have been endowed can sin."⁵⁴

This pattern of recognizing how one has been gifted before seeing and having sorrow for one's sins is in the structure of the examination of conscience (first point is to give thanks). This same pattern is in the first meditation on sin ([45-53]) where the angels and Adam and Eve are seen as *first* gifted and then as refusing to respond in obedience and reverence to the giver. Finally, there is in the exercises of the first week the contrast of the exercitant's continued ingratitude in face of his Lord's continual generosity, fidelity, and mercy.

The other aspect of this theme is that all creatures are given to man so that he can serve. This is clear from the Principle and Foundation ([23]). The *Exercises* present sin as a disorder which consists in relating creatures to oneself rather than to Christ (God). Central to the goal of the *Exercises* then is detachment or indifference which is a posture of accepting creatures as gifts (good things!) but given for the purpose that one may serve his Lord (which means greater union with him). This detachment is the posture of a truly free man, of one who can make an election. This form of detachment is not a negative thing but rather the highest form of attachment. It is loving Christ (God) with one's whole heart and thus loving creatures in him. This does not mean a lack of love for creatures but a well-ordered love, a love of all in terms of their and the exercitant's coming from God and returning to him, in terms of God's being the infinite Goodness in

which creatures participate, and in terms of all creatures being "bathed in the blood of Christ."⁵⁵

In this short space it is impossible to do justice to this theme but, hopefully, it is clear that a dominant image of Christ in the *Exercises* is that of Christ as provider or "maintenance-giver," as the Lord who gives the exercitant (vassal) all that he needs so that he can serve his Lord. This image and structure is expressed in the *Exercises* in both explicit feudal imagery ([74, 91-98, 136-148]) and in the more traditional faith terms of creation. Thus Christ is the king who has given the exercitant (knight) many gifts ([74]); Christ is the Creator who has created all for the exercitant so he can serve his Lord ([23]). In light of this and the Lord's patience and mercy in face of the exercitant's repeated past failings this image obviously sets up a dynamic to incite the exercitant to respond with a total gift of himself in service.

B. Christ as Protector

A good lord not only offers maintenance or provides for his vassal but he is committed to protect that vassal, by fighting for him against his enemies and by interceding for him in the court of the king. The Christ-image of the *Exercises* has a strong emphasis on both of these facets of the lord-image. Christ is presented as coming to save the exercitant from enslavement and death; he is Redeemer. He is also presented as interceding for the exercitant before the Father; he is Mediator.

Our comments on Christ as Redeemer will focus first on the plight of man; on his need for salvation, and then on Christ's response. We will see that the primary model used in this presentation is the model that is most appropriate in terms of the lord-vassal relationship, that is, the model of warfare against a common enemy.⁵⁶

In the *Exercises* man is described as desperately in need of salvation, as being unable to save himself. He is described as being enslaved and on the road to death and destruction (see [101-109, 136-147]). The natural result of this enslavement is most vividly placed before the exercitant's gaze in the meditation on hell ([65-71]) and in the fifth point of the second exercise of the first week where the exercitant cries

out in wonder that new hells have not been created for him ([60]). The death and destruction that sin leads to is portrayed not as a form of annihilation where one ceases to be conscious, but as a constant searing disorder within one's being and towards Christ and the world.

Man's historical and present plight is seen as the result of the activity of an enemy. The term *enemigo* appears thirty-seven times and, what is more important, the view permeates crucial parts of the *Exercises* (Call of the King, Two Standards, annotations, rules for discernment of spirits).⁵⁷ Christ's coming is seen then as a reconquest, a seeking to free his people from a common enemy. It is clear in the *Exercises* that although Christ has conquered (risen), the battle is not over. Satan still seeks to deceive and to ensnare.⁵⁸ The purpose of the *Exercises* is to help in this battle, to aid in the freeing of man.

Man's plight is described in terms of enslavement and death, so Christ's response is described in terms of battling to free man and lead him to life.⁵⁹ This endeavor is described as a reconquest of man, a freeing of him from "the enemy of human nature" (an image which would touch the heart of any sixteenth-century Spaniard). The emphasis throughout is that Christ does this for the exercitant's good. Thus the exercitant is told to pray to realize that Christ dies "for me," and in the fourth week the first thing the exercitant sees is Christ's soul descend into hell where "he sets free the souls of the just" ([219]).

This focus on liberation does not signify that freedom becomes an end in itself in the *Exercises*. Just as enslavement by Satan is meant to lead to eternal death, so liberation by Christ is meant to lead to eternal life. The purpose of the freedom is that one can hear Christ's call and respond, that one can live governed, not by inordinate attachments, but by love of Christ. This goal is expressed in two terms that stress the dipolar nature of eternal life for man: "the glory of the Father" and the "salvation" of man's soul.

It is clear in the *Exercises* that man is meant to attain salvation or "salud" (which is the Spanish word for health and life).⁶⁰ It is also clear that man attains this "salud" by praising, reverencing, and serving

God. Ignatius' view of man is very simple: man is ordered to God as to his center, and his "salud" is attained in living out that order. Man's happiness consists then in living in right order, within himself, toward his God and in relationship to all creation. Man's "salud" is attained through giving himself to God's glory. Often these two terms are joined. For example, in the Meditation on the Three Classes of Men, the exercitant prays "for the grace to choose what is more for the glory of His Divine Majesty and the salvation of my soul" ([152]). For Christ and for the exercitant the glory of God (as contributed to by creatures) and the salvation of men cannot be separated.

The imagery and view of this life as a struggle of conquest (liberation) pervades the *Exercises*. It is in this context that one must understand the stress in them on self-conquest, on overcoming inordinate attachments, and on the rules for discerning spirits. Finally, it is in this context that one must study the place of the cross in the *Exercises*.

For Ignatius, our liberation (redemption) comes through the cross, and Christ's whole life is pointed toward it.⁶¹ There is a two-fold focus in this emphasis on the cross. There is a focus on Christ's suffering and there is a focus on Christ as victorious in that suffering. Christ is not contemplated here as the King of Glory but as the noble lord who suffers the worst trials in the battle and through them wins the victory. He dies to save his subjects which is the highest act of love in warfare. Christ totally empties himself so that his followers may be freed, but even in the midst of his "defeat" he is the God who could destroy his enemies ([196]). But, out of love for his vassal he yields. He dies, and by dying (and rising), frees him.

The noble lord not only fights for his vassal but also intercedes for him. This aspect of the lord-vassal relationship is clearly present and strongly emphasized in the *Exercises*. Christ is the exercitant's mediator before the Father. The clearest sign of this is in the triple colloquies, which consist in praying for a special grace in three steps: first, the exercitant prays to Mary to obtain the grace from her son; second, he prays to Christ to obtain the grace from the Father; and third,

he prays to the Father for this grace. Such a colloquy is extremely important in the dynamic of the *Exercises*. (It is made during the first week repetition meditations, in the meditations on the Two Standards and Three Classes of Men, and is recommended for contemplations of the public life and Passion).

This focus on Christ as mediator points to the strong Trinitarian thrust in the *Exercises* and in Ignatius' spirituality all through his life. Ignatius experienced that all came to him through Christ. Thus when scholars speak of the strong Eucharistic dimension of Ignatius' spirituality, they do not mean that Ignatius received many lights on the Eucharist, but that his graces (lights) came often through the Eucharist.⁶² As with all else in the *Exercises*, what Ignatius put there was what he had experienced. Central to what he experienced was Christ's role as his savior and mediator, experiences that easily fit into the imagery and structure of the lord-vassal relationship.

C. Christ as Leader and Model

A third characteristic of the feudal lord is that he is the vassal's leader. As such he calls for and inspires deeds of loving service. So it is in the *Exercises*. Just as there is strong emphasis on Christ's liberality and generosity to the exercitant, so there is strong emphasis on his call for a return of service. Thus there is a constant emphasis on the exercitant's seeking both to discover the exact shape of that call and to respond with the total gift of himself. Such a response is at the heart of the lord-vassal relationship and at the heart of the Christ-exercitant relationship.

There is a tension kept in the *Exercises* between Christ's and man's roles in the warfare against Satan. It has already been seen that Christ has won the victory, that he is man's savior. And yet at the same time man's co-operation is really needed so that the power of this victory may spread, free men, and lead them to eternal life.⁶³ The service that Christ calls for is true service, that is, it really is needed. There is then a true (albeit of different quality) mutual dependence in this relationship.

How does one give himself totally in loving service to Christ? In

the *Exercises* this involves a desire to follow Christ by imitating him.⁶⁴ This "imitating Christ" is a subtle thing and not a slavish copying or exterior imitation.⁶⁵ This is clear from the whole dynamic of the *Exercises*, which sees service in terms of God's will, a will which is uniquely fitted to each person and which must be revealed by God Himself. Thus each exercitant seeks to hear through a mixture of contemplation and discernment of spirits the way he is called to live the mystery of Christ.⁶⁶ In this way the exercitant in contemplating the mysteries of Christ's life encounters Christ at work today, teaching and calling him. He experiences Christ as his leader here and now. In encountering Christ in his mysteries the exercitant comes then not to some exterior imitation of Christ but comes to be joined with the living Christ, to be con-formed to him.

Basically then one's imitation or following of Christ flows from the inside out and will differ for different people. However, for Ignatius there is a basic shape that will be common to all exercitants' imitations of Christ and that has been called the "paschal shape" of his life. Ignatius saw Christ's life as a battle against Satan, a life of labor and suffering leading to a life of glory, death and then resurrection. This is the paschal shape of his life.

All of the important passages in the *Exercises* that speak of imitating Christ are always in terms of this paschal shape. The dynamics of the *Exercises* lead the exercitant toward a greater desire to imitate Christ in his suffering of poverty and contempt that reaches a type of conclusion in the third kind of humility ([167]). Such an attitude certainly fits with the secular and religious atmosphere of the day. The lord-vassal relationship fostered the view that to suffer greatly and to do so without any sign of pain or fear was truly noble (especially when done for one's lord or vassal). For a vassal to be living well while his lord suffered great trials would be an ignoble and loveless life-style. In the religious sphere there was great emphasis placed on the great quality and quantity of Christ's sufferings on the cross.⁶⁷ Along with this went an emphasis on the Christian's service being primarily in carrying the cross. This is not to say that Ignatius was simply or primarily the product of that atmosphere. If he were, one would expect to find an emphasis on physical suffering. Instead,

the emphasis is on poverty and contempt.

In the *Exercises* Ignatius gives two reasons for the exercitant's being drawn to a path of poverty and humility.⁶⁸ The first sees Christ as a model, as the revealer of the best tactic to win the victory. Satan seeks to ensnare man through a desire for riches and honor. Christ's tactic seeks to destroy those chains, to free the exercitant so he can recognize, accept, and do God's will.⁶⁹ The second reason is the motive for desiring the third kind of humility. It is the logic of love. How could a loving vassal not desire to be with his lord when he is in the worst part of the battle? This love of Christ includes the desire to become as much as possible like Christ, to become truly con-formed to him. The motive given in the presentation of the third kind of humility is simply: "So Christ was treated before me" ([167]).

In this discussion Ignatius always keeps goals, means, and motives in order. The goal is always service that involves victory over Satan. Thus the focus on poverty and contempt rather than physical suffering seems to be because of the way Ignatius saw Satan ensnare men (the worldly knight sought honor above all else). Thus even the desire of love to imitate Christ in poverty and humiliations, while deliberately and carefully encouraged, is never allowed to become the ruling ideal. The ruling ideal is always the best service.

As the *Exercises* progress, the exercitant is drawn to make a total oblation of himself to Christ,⁷⁰ (as we see in the Call of the King, Two Standards, and Contemplation for Obtaining Love). This oblation has striking similarities to the characteristics of the act of commendation studied earlier. It is a public act, made before the heavenly court. It is the total giving of oneself to a Lord. It is a two-sided act; that is, it must be accepted by the Lord to be complete (thus Mary and Christ are asked to intercede for this grace). It involves a commitment on the Lord's part ("Give me only your love and grace"). The importance of this acceptance must be emphasized.⁷¹ The oblation is a prayer for a covenantal relationship that involves a mutual free choice. This is a key factor in seeing why the lord-vassal relationship rather than the king-subject relationship dominates in the *Exercises*.

We have seen that just as loving, obedient service is at the heart of the lord-vassal relationship from the vassal's side, so the heart of sanctity and the exercitant's relationship to Christ centers on a life of genuine service, of true co-operation in Christ's work. This service is based on responding to Christ's call made here and now. One seeks to hear this call by a mixture of contemplating and discerning which involves a process that sees Christ as leader and model (two aspects of one mystery). This service or following of Christ involves imitating the paschal shape of his life and, in the *Exercises*, involves the praying to enter into a special covenant-type relationship with him that has the basic characteristics of the act of commendation.

D. Christ as Friend

Like the lord-vassal relationship, the relationship fostered in the *Exercises* is based on the deepest of loves. It is difficult to find in English an appropriate word to designate the persons involved in this relationship. The word "friend" is chosen but it must be emphasized that it is meant to point to the deepest of loves possible between persons. This section seeks to sketch the outlines of this love.

Christ's love is revealed throughout the *Exercises*. As Creator he works constantly for man's good, seeking to bring him true "salud" and to give himself. As protector he totally empties himself and dies for the exercitant and now continues to intercede for him. As leader he seeks to guide the exercitant toward ultimate freedom and life. As a loving Lord he invites the exercitant to the deepest intimacy, to share his life of struggle and then of glory. In all of this he is not pictured as a King of Glory but as "standing in a lowly place . . . , his appearance beautiful and attractive" ([144]).

The whole dynamic of the *Exercises* fosters a growing response of love from the exercitant that involves the oblation, the *traditio personae*, commented on already. There is a movement within the four weeks of the *Exercises* of growing love. In the first week there is a focus on love filled with gratitude at the Lord's patience and mercy. In the second there is the constant prayer for interior knowledge of Christ that leads to a deepening

love. In the third week there is a growing identification with Christ in his Passion. Finally, in the fourth week there is fostered even a greater identification with Christ that involves more of a forgetting of self. In all of this the love is extremely intimate and yet reverential. For Ignatius such a love relationship was easily expressed in the covenant word *divina majestad*.⁷² It is more difficult for us to find terms in our culture that are vehicles for such a content.

The basis of the Christ-exercitant relationship is then the strongest of love relationships, a relationship that is deepened and expressed by a type of covenant or *accepted* oblation. It is based on a mutual giving and support (Christ will truly give the exercitant the love and grace he needs) that involves a great intimacy and yet remains hierarchic. There is emphasis on fidelity on both sides and on service that involves great sacrifice.

In summary, we have seen that the basic characteristics of the lord-vassal relationship are natural focal points for a study of the Christ-exercitant relationship. The exercitant is drawn to offer himself totally to Christ, to pray that he be accepted under his special standard. Christ is seen as the loving Lord who both provides for and protects his servant. Moreover, he calls for service and gives commands that are both for his good and the good of the vassal. Finally, the basis of the relationship is an intimate and yet hierarchic love.

PART IV. THE IMAGE AND ITS MEANING TODAY

It is now time to discuss and reflect on some of the results of the above study. We have spoken of a Christ-image rather than a Christology. The book of the *Exercises* is not a theological treatise. Rather than seeking to offer a notional knowledge about Christ, the *Exercises* seek to help one to know Christ himself through a deeply personal knowledge of encounter (*conoscimiento interno* 104). To aid this encounter there is a definite presentation of Christ in the *Exercises* that involves the image of Christ as feudal Lord. This image is obviously not Christ and yet is meant to

describe him. The image interprets and points to Christ, Christ as he has been encountered and experienced by Ignatius. It is meant to facilitate the encounter, to act as a type of introduction, to help the exercitant understand what Christ has been and is saying to him and doing for him.

The image points to Christ in his fullness. There are aspects of the image such as Christ as Creator that easily focus on his divinity and there are other aspects such as Christ as protector that easily focus on his humanity. In doing so the image like every orthodox image and Christology preserves and protects what is a category-shattering paradox to man's way of thinking: Christ is both true God and true man while remaining one person. To avoid confusion it should be noted that the term "person" is not used here in its full modern meaning but as it was used in the Christological definitions of the first major Councils of the Church.⁷³ Thus it does not mean that the human "personality" of Christ was active in creation, but it does mean that the Eternal Word of God was and is involved in the work of creation and that the same Eternal Word became a man called Jesus Christ.

A question that can arise is whether the exercitant is relating or should relate to the historical Christ, to the Christ of *then*, or to the Christ of *now*. At first glance the answer would seem to be the Christ of *then*, since the exercitant is encouraged to place himself imaginatively at the scene of an event that occurred centuries before. However, as has been seen throughout this study, the Christ-experience fostered in the *Exercises* is an encounter with a living Lord who calls the exercitant here and now. In the *Exercises* there are not two Christs, the Christ of *then* and the Christ of *now*. There is one Christ who communicates himself here and now through Scripture. Several statements can be made that might make it easier for a modern exercitant to see this. First, one cannot truly know someone unless one understands something of his past. All of a man's past is part of his present; and that is even more true in Christ. His mysteries continue to exist and to be operative in him in a special way. Some maintain this is because he is divine, others because he has risen.⁷⁴ Either way his life-mysteries have a trans-historical character and power. Second, the Gospels are not twentieth-century historiography, but faith

expressions based on history written as an inspired means of revealing to the reader the risen Christ, the Christ of *now*. They tell us who Jesus is today by a theological interpretation of events from his earthly life.

Before we further discuss the image under study, two points should be made. First, the image of Christ as feudal lord is *essentially* an image of relationship. Second, that relationship has a definite form or structure to it. By analogy we will speak of the "structure" of the image of feudal lord. The danger in speaking this way is to forget that an image is not the same thing as a concept. One cannot abstract the essence of or merely point to a "structure" in the image and believe that he has truly encountered or made contact with it. An image is something incarnate that touches man on various levels of his being. To "disincarnate" it is to change it radically, to change its very form of reality. However, it must also be said that the image has an inner meaning or form. As understanding of the way specific attributes of the image are brought together and foster a relationship helps to clarify that image and the resulting relationship. Our speaking of the structure of the image is an attempt to do that.

The major theme of this paper is that the image of Christ as feudal lord, or at least the structure of the resulting relationship, is extremely important in understanding the total Christ-image and Christ-experience of the *Exercises*. Since the *Exercises* are recognized as an organic unity, one would expect that there would be an organic unity also in its Christ-image. Certainly one can speak of various Christ-images in the *Exercises*, such as Eternal Word, Infinite Goodness, Creator; but the conclusion here is that they all contribute to the distinct outlines of one dominant Christ-image, one that is best described and understood against the background of the lord-vassal relationship.

A. The Image and Modern Man

If we assume that the above is correct, then there immediately arises a series of questions. Obviously, the image of lords and vassals is an historically conditioned image. To speak of such things is to transfer a modern exercitant to another world. What meaning can and should it have for him? How viable is such an image and relationship for modern man?

In the attempting to answer such complex questions, several points should be kept in mind. First, the exercitant is meant to encounter Christ *directly*. Any image is meant to facilitate the Christ-encounter but not impose itself as Christ. Second, any image is then something relative (that is space and time-conditioned) something which points to a permanent truth or reality. The important thing is not the image but the experience and relationship fostered. Any specific image is only one possible "pointer." Third, as was mentioned at the beginning of this paper, the feudal imagery seems to have remained something relative for Ignatius. Thus in the *Exercises* the feudal imagery is not developed as much as it could have been, nor does it remain dominate in Ignatius' later writings. What does remain constant is the basic Christ-experience and relationship described in this paper--an experience and relationship that I have come to understand and appreciate much more precisely by making contact with the feudal imagery and by studying and meditating on the *Exercises* against that background. Fourth, that any image is relative does not mean that images are unimportant. An image is not the reality pointed to; but without images how can we ever get to the reality?

The final point to be kept in mind is that the basic meaning, experience, and relationship described in this study are not limited in appeal to medieval European man. Examples can be given from different cultures and eras which indicate the archetypal character of such an image and relationship. Thus Haridas Chaudhuri, speaking mainly from experiences with people using yoga, writes:

The spirit of service (*seva*) is an essential component of love. Rooted in the heart of every man is a strong desire to render loving service to the benefactor, to the well-wisher, to the protector and provider. Sacrifices are gladly made to please him. The yoga of love seeks to turn this spirit of service and self-sacrifice to God who is the ultimate protector and provider for all living creatures. This is the usual pattern in all popular religions. A pious man takes refuge in God as the sovereign master and ruler of the universe. He looks upon himself as a humble servant of God, the supreme Lord of the world. He experiences perfect security and happiness in the service of the Divine.⁷⁵

What do these points mean? I would suggest that they mean that there

is a middle ground which contains the answer to the question of the importance and use of this image in the *Exercises*. The image is a means, not an end. The important thing is not so much the image, but the type of Christ-experience and relationship it fosters. That is why the theme of this paper is that the presentation of Christ in the *Exercises* is best understood *against the background* of the lord-vassal relationship. That is different from saying that the presentation of Christ must be explicitly in terms of the lord-vassal relationship. The structure or meaning of the image and the type of experience and relationship that it fosters are what is important. However, once this is said there still remains the question of what imagery one uses and what one does with the explicit feudal imagery in the *Exercises*, especially in the Call of the King. For an image precisely as an image to be effective it must be enfleshed in a way that truly touches a man on various levels of his being. It is obvious that a modern exercitant might find difficulty understanding, appreciating, and responding to the image of the feudal lord and that he would miss much that a contemporary of Ignatius would immediately see.

What, then, should a modern director and exercitant do with the feudal image? In the attempt to come to an answer to this question, several observations may help. First, there will be no simple answer. Second, the important thing is that a certain type of Christ-experience and relationship be nourished in the *Exercises*. Third, if a director decides that the image of Christ as feudal lord is not helpful in a particular case, it is still important that he understand that image, especially its structure, so that he can help the exercitant encounter Christ within the matrix of the *Exercises*. That is, even if the image is not explicitly used, its basic meaning or way of seeing Christ is an integral part of the *Exercises*, and that basic view must somehow be communicated. That is the purpose of the image, a purpose that must be fulfilled if the fruit of the *Exercises* is to be achieved. Fourth (and connected with the above point), the basic elements or structure of the image should have appeal for a modern exercitant, that is, Christ as a loving master who gives the exercitant all creation to help him respond to his love, who dies to help free him and

and lead him to eternal life, who calls him in his work.

Should one seek to reincarnate Ignatius' imagery in the Call of the King? And if so, how? Questions such as these cannot be answered quickly, but only through a study of the role of this exercise in the dynamics of the *Exercises*,⁷⁶ and also through prayerful reflection on many experiences in making or directing the *Exercises*. One purpose of this paper is to help those interested search for the answers from a position of strength, from a position of understanding and appreciating more the imagery in the *Exercises*. The next step should involve more sharing of our mutual reflections and experiences. In all of this there will be no simple answer. Feudal imagery was the fruit of centuries of experience. We do not possess the same inheritance.

In terms of this search, I shall end this section by sharing one possibility that I have found helpful.⁷⁷ I ask the exercitant to reflect on the parable in the Call of the King in terms of a leader who has freed him or her from some form of slavery (e.g., poverty or sickness), and who now invites him or her to help him free others (with emphasis on sharing in the work and suffering of the leader). This imagery of liberation and struggle against some form of evil seems to touch a deep chord in some. The exercitant then reflects on Christ's life and his whole first week experience in those terms. Often several Scripture passages such as Luke 5: 1-11 are helpful.

CONCLUSION

The goal of this paper has been to study the type of Christ-experience and relationship fostered in the *Exercises*. For a proper perspective we studied the historical development of the lord-vassal relationship and its being a model in courtly-love and medieval religious literature. We saw it evolve in response to an era of turmoil and insecurity: It was a relationship which provided stability because it was founded on a deep, personal love, on a freely made covenant that involved promise of mutual service and concern.

In studying the *Exercises* against this background, we saw that the characteristics of the ideal feudal lord (provider, protector, leader, friend) are the same characteristics emphasized in the presentation of Christ. The whole relationship fostered is one based on the strongest of loves and sealed by a freely made covenant that stressed mutual service. The conclusion is, then, that the Christ-exercitant relationship can be better understood against the background of the lord-vassal relationship.

Finally, the question was raised as to the viability of the feudal image and resulting relationship for modern man. The contention here is that the structure of the image (Christ as provider, protector, leader, and friend) and resulting relationship have an appeal that transcends a medieval world-view. This is true even though the image in its concrete fullness will not have the same emotional impact on most of us as it did for sixteenth-century man. However, this is not the only image possible to describe Christ and to foster this type of relationship. Even for Ignatius this image was just one of several that were deeply meaningful to him.

It is Christ, and not the image, that is meant to be encountered. The image helps insofar as it points to Christ or facilitates the encounter with him. The Christ Ignatius encountered changed his whole life and filled him with love that was expressed in great deeds of service. May this study help you to understand more the richness and power of the Christ-experience and relationship fostered in the *Exercises*, and lead you to desire that more for yourself and those you meet.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Most of the material presented here is based on a dissertation written by the author. Those wishing a more detailed presentation of the material are invited to read the dissertation itself.
- 2 This study has been furthered by scholars from every part of the globe. A list of the outstanding contributors over the past decades would include the names of Joseph de Guibert, Pedro de Leturia, José Calveras, Ignacio Iparraguirre, and Hugo Rahner. This study has been further nourished with- in the past ten years by a variety of national and international meetings that have given scholars special opportunities to explore and search to- gether.
- 3 At the beginning of this new era in Ignatian studies the emphasis was on basic philological work led by A. Denis and J. Nonell. It then shifted to more intricate analysis of the text by men like A. Encinas and J. Cal- veras. Now, seeing that every word in the *Exercises* is important and be- lieving that the *Exercises* are an organic unity, scholars seek to combine analysis and synthesis. This view and approach can be seen in excellent modern commentaries by William Peters (*The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ig- natius: Exposition and Interpretation* [Jersey City: Program to Adapt the Spiritual Exercises, 1968]) and by Hervé Coathalem (*Ignatian Insights* [Taichung, Taiwan: Kuangchi Press, 1961]). For a description of this evolu- tion, see Ignacio Iparraguirre, "Ejercicios ignacianos: 1964-66," *Manresa*, XXXIX (1967), 147-168.
- 4 See Jesús Granero, "Experiencia espiritual y ejercicios," *Manresa*, XL (1968), 263. He writes: "In fact, it is impossible to understand the Exercises if they are not viewed from the angle of a spiritual experience . . . without that spiritual experience, the Exercises would be unexplainable."
- 5 See Harvey D. Egan, *An Anthropocentric-Christocentric Mystagogy* (Jersey City: Program to Adapt the Spiritual Exercises, 1973), pp. 189-262.
- 6 See Ignacio Iparraguirre, *A Key to the Study of the Spiritual Exercises* (Calcutta: Hibernian Press, 1955), p. 12.
- 7 There are two basic approaches to the whole idea of adaptation that are like two ends of a spectrum. In one the director focuses on the experi- ence of the exercitant and responds in the light of the *Exercises*. In the other he takes the book as normative and the experience of the ex- ercitant as secondary. Either way, the rule given above is important.
- 8 Those who argue for an emphasis on union with God (school of prayer) in- clude Fathers Louis Peeters and William Peters while those who stress the election include Fathers Léonce de Grandmaison and Joseph de Guibert. See De Guibert, *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice*, (Chi- cago and St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1964 and 1972), p. 122.
- 9 See John English, *Spiritual Freedom* (Guelph: Loyola House, 1973), pp. 29- 34. This is an excellent study of the *Exercises*, based on the experience of directing a variety of people, that should help all interested in any

form of spiritual direction. See also Thomas E. Clarke, "The Ignatian Exercises--Contemplation and Discernment," *Review for Religious*, XXXI (January, 1972), 62-69.

- 10 On this theme confer Manuel E. Iglesias Rivas, "Los Ejercicios como encuentro con Cristo," *Manresa*, XXXIX (1967), 113-124, and Robert Lindsay, *The Christology of the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola in the Light of St. Paul*, Studies in Sacred Theology, Second Series No. 158 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1965), p. 57.
- 11 *Spiritual Exercises*, [1, 21, 63] (abbreviated hereafter as *SpEx*).
- 12 A prayer for *conoscimiento interno* of Christ begins each contemplation of the second week. See *SpEx*, [104].
- 13 See Mircea Eliade, *Images and Symbols* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1969), especially pp. 9-25. Three good books to help one get into the world of Jung are: Carl Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (New York: Random House Inc., 1961) -- this is a type of autobiography that gives great insight into the role images and symbols played in Jung's search and growth; Carl Jung (ed.); *Man and His Symbols* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1968) -- the last work undertaken by Jung before his death; Jolande Jacobi, *The Way of Individuation* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1967).
- 14 De Guibert speaks of three classes of mystics: (1) the seraphic (whose experience touches mostly his will), (2) the cherubic (whose experience touches mostly his intellect), and (3) the angelic (whose experience touches mostly the faculties of the concrete, the imagination and memory). He places Ignatius in the third category ("'Journal Spirituel' de Saint Ignace de Loyola," *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, XIX [1938], 3-22, 113-40). For John C. Futrell's comments, see *Making an Apostolic Community of Love* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970), esp. p. 93.
- 15 See William Lynch, *Christ and Apollo* (New York: The New American Library, 1963), esp. pp. 19-44.
- 16 For more information concerning the stages leading to the final form of the *Exercises*, those who can read Latin will find the material summarized in *Sancti Ignatii de Loyola Exercitia Spiritualia: Textuum antiquissimorum [e] Lexicon textus hispani*, edited by José Calveras and Candide de Dalmases, Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, vol. 100 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1969), pp. 1-67, (abbreviated hereafter as *SpExMHSJTe*). This is the major reference book for any study of the *Exercises*. It contains the critical editions of the basic texts ("textus archetypi") and adapted texts ("textus accommodati") of Ignatius' day, plus Calveras' index of the words used in the Autograph text. Other articles worth reading on this theme include Hugo Rahner, "Notes on the Spiritual Exercises," *Woodstock Letters* (1956), 282-289 (available through The Program to Adapt the Spiritual Exercises, Jersey City, N.J.), and Miguel Nicolau, "Origen de los Ejercicios de S. Ignacio," *Manresa*, XLII (1970), 279-294, 377-396.
- 17 See Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (New York: Doubleday, 1954--first published 1924), pp. 31-56, 67-77. This is an excellent study on the forms of life and thought in western Europe of the fourteenth and

fifteenth centuries. The work studies life in France and the Netherlands, but what is found there helps one understand all of Europe in Ignatius' day.

- 19 See Francis L. Ganshof, *Feudalism* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1964), p. 4. This book and Marc Bloch's *Feudal Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961) are two excellent secondary sources for much of the material sketched in these sections. Another outstanding work for understanding the Middle Ages is Richard Southern's *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953).
- 20 See Ganshof, *Feudalism*, p. 8.
- 21 Bloch, *Feudal Society*, p. 41.
- 22 Ibid., p. 62.
- 23 The ceremonies usually involved several stages: (1) a handing over by an older knight of arms which were symbolic of his future status, (2) the administering of a heavy blow with the flat of the sponsor's hand (this is interpreted as either a test of the initiated's strength or a means of making an impression on his memory), and (3) an athletic display by the new knight. See Bloch, *Feudal Society*, p. 312, and Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, p. 112-113.
- 24 For example, confer Edward P. Cheyney, *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History* (Dept. of History, University of Pennsylvania, 1898), IV, no. 3, pp. 18-21. Also, see Ganshof, *Feudalism*, pp. 70 ff.
- 25 This was the content of the oath made by Bretislav I of Bohemia to Henry III of Germany in 1041. See Ganshof, *Feudalism*, p. 79.
- 26 Thus the French expression *foi et hommage* became the customary way, especially in the later Middle Ages, to describe this act.
- 27 Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, pp. 9-57.
- 28 Bloch, *Feudal Society*, p. 234.
- 29 C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 9.
- 30 The German poet Thomasin wrote: "he has no desire to embrace the knight's profession whose sole desire is to live in comfort." *Der Walsche Gast*, ed. Ruckert, vv. 7791-92, quoted by Bloch, *Feudal Society*, p. 317.
- 31 Ignatius himself gives us an example of this ideal in his comment in the *Autobiography*, no. 2, about his reaction to the operation of breaking and re-setting his leg: "Again he went through this butchery, in which as in all others that he had suffered he uttered no word, nor gave any sign of pain other than clenching his fists." Leturia comments how this was "the only concession to pain permitted by the code of chivalry"; (Pedro de Leturia, *Iñigo de Loyola*, trans. A. J. Owen [Syracuse: Le Moyne College Press, 1949], pp. 76-77,
- 32 The entire emphasis was on the king's being Christ's representative rather

than God's. See Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton University Press, 1957), pp. 42-86.

- 33 See Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *The Feudal Monarchy in France and England* (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1964), pp. 304f.
- 34 A good way to get a flavor of the Spanish vision of a national hero is to read *Poem of the Cid*, translated by W. S. Merwin (New York: Mentor Classics; the New American Library, 1962).
- 35 Leturia, *Íñigo de Loyola*, p. 31.
- 36 For those interested in understanding the early Ignatius better it would be worthwhile to spend some time reading sections of this novel. There is an English translation by Robert Southey in three volumes (London: John Russell Smith, 1872). Leturia's *Íñigo de Loyola* is an excellent study of the early Ignatius. See also John Wickham, "The Worldly Ideal of Inigo Loyola," *Thought* XXIX (1954), 209-236.
- 37 Henry Thomas, *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920), p. 48.
- 38 Lewis, *Allegory of Love*, p. 2.
- 39 *Amadis of Gaul*, II, 10.
- 40 See Leturia, *Íñigo de Loyola*, pp. 38f. On Ignatius' efforts at composing verses see Polanco's *Chronicon Societatis Iesu*, I, 13, where Polanco tells us that Ignatius composed a poem in honor of St. Peter (before Ignatius' conversion) and *Scripta de S. Ignatio*, I, 726, where Ignatius tells us that when he was depressed (again before his conversion), he would compose a prayer to Our Lady.
- 41 For a description of this literature, see Arthur Myrick, "Feudal Terminology in Medieval Religious Poetry," *Romantic Review*, XI (1920), 1-25.
- 42 Bloch, *Feudal Society*, p. 233.
- 43 This work has been given various titles: *Flos Sanctorum*, *Legenda Sanctorum*, *Historia longobardica*, *Legenda aurea*. The author was a Dominican bishop of Genoa. The work was extremely popular with at least seventy-four Latin editions before 1500, besides translations into various national languages. For an English translation see *Golden Legend*, translated by Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger, 2 vols. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1941).
- 44 For more on Vagad and his writings see Leturia, *Íñigo de Loyola*, pp. 171-174, and *Estudios Ignacianos*, II (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1957), pp. 57-72.
- 45 *Vita Jesu Christi*, 4 vols. (Paris: Victor Palme, 1878). There is an English translation of part of this work: *The Hours of the Passion from the Life of Christ of Ludolph of Saxon* (London: Burns & Oates, 1887). For a good study of this work see Sr. Mary Immaculata Boden, *The Vita Christi of Ludolphus the Carthusian* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1944).
- 46 For a listing of the various titles and their location in the *Exercices*, see "Lexicon Textus Hispani 'Autograph'" by José Calveras in *SpExMHSTe*,

pp. 733-789.

- 47 References to the text of the *Exercises* will be given in the text, using the common numbering system. Unless otherwise stated, Puhl's translation will be used.
- 48 Some of the references to creatures: creation is called the gift of life ([189]), the exercitant is reminded that man is a creature ([23, 169, 197]), that the rational soul is a creature ([15, 16]), that everything on earth is created ([23, 38, 39, 165, 235, 236, 316]). For a more detailed listing of texts see José Calveras, *The Harvest-Field of the Spiritual Exercises* (Bombay: Bambardekar, 1949), pp. 238-239, n. 2.
- 49 Designating Christ as Creator would not be surprising to a contemporary of Ignatius since it had been done by different writers and preachers throughout the Middle Ages, for example, Ludolph of Saxony does it in *Vita Jesu Christi*. For a summary of the history of this theme see Hans Küng, *Justification* (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1964), pp. 129-140. Throughout the Middle Ages Christ was at times also spoken of as being active throughout Old Testament times. Thus he is spoken of as being the one who led the Israelites out of Egypt. For an example, confer Robert E. McNally, "'Christus' in the Pseudo-Isidorian 'Liber de Ortu et Obitu Patriarcharum.'" *Traditio*, XXI (1965), 167-183.
- 50 Hugo Rahner, *Ignatius the Theologian* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1968), p. 64. This conclusion is based on extensive studies on the writings of Ignatius in which it has been shown that *often* when Ignatius uses a title like Creator he is referring to Christ. (I think, however, that Rahner goes too far to change "often" to "always.") See Jesús Solano, "Jesucristo bajo las denominaciones divinas en San Ignacio," *Estudios Ecclesiasticos*, XXX (1956), 325-42; Maurice Giuliani, "Dieu notre Créateur et rédempteur," *Christus*, VI (1959), 329-44. Others have taken this work as a basis for arguing for a strong Christological dimension to such exercises as the Principle and Foundation. Besides Rahner's *Ignatius the Theologian*, pp. 53-135, see Miguel Fiorito, "Cristocentrismo del Principio y Fundamento de San Ignacio," *Ciencia y Fe* (1962), 3-42.
- 51 Peters, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*, esp. pp. 149-152.
- 52 By "pure gift" is meant that a person can do with the gift whatever he wishes. God's reason for giving us gifts accentuates the depth of his love. We are in movement toward him (who alone can satisfy us). All of creation is a gift of love but a gift to help us grow into greater union with him. To enjoy the gift without being brought closer to the giver is to misuse the gift.
- 53 In all of this consideration of service it must be remembered that for Ignatius service and union belong together.
- 54 Winoc de Broucker, "The First Week of the Exercises" (Jersey City: Program to Adapt the Spiritual Exercises, n.d.), p. 6. This is a translation of an excellent article in *Christus*, XXI (January, 1959), 22-39.
- 55 Rahner, *Ignatius the Theologian*, p. 126

- 56 The theme of the spiritual life as a warfare is not limited to a feudal view. The theme is present under different forms throughout the New Testament. St. Augustine used this imagery in speaking of "Two Cities." Christians of every age have found this an apt image. See Ferdinand Tournier, "Les 'Deux cités' dans la littérature chrétienne," *Études*, CXXIII (1910), 644-665.
- 57 For a list of the places where this term is used, see *SpExMHSJTe*, p. 755. That Satan is called the "enemy of human nature" is one indication that for Ignatius human nature is basically good.
- 58 There is great emphasis in the *Exercises* on the experience of evil being an experience of chains and deceits. See, in the *Exercises*, [7, 8, 139, 326, 332, 334, 336].
- 59 It should be noted again that this response of Christ is seen as being a response of the entire Trinity ([101-109]). Christ is man's Redeemer and yet in a real sense the act of redemption is an act of the entire Trinity.
- 60 Ignatius himself plays with the word *salud* in its two meanings (physical health, salvation) in a letter to Sister Teresa Rejadell in 1547 (*Epistolae et Instructiones S. Ignatii*, I, 628).
- 61 See the Contemplation on the Nativity ([116]).
- 62 See Joseph de Guibert, "Mystique Ignatienne. A propos du 'Journal Spirituel' de Saint Ignace de Loyola," *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, XIX (1938), 3-22, 113-40.
- 63 An excellent article on this theme is Francis X. Lawlor's "The Doctrine of Grace in the Spiritual Exercises," *Theological Studies*, III, 513-32.
- 64 In the *Exercises*, see [98, 109, 117, 139, 147, 167, 168].
- 65 Well worth reading on this theme is Henri Holstein's "Entendre la parole de Dieu dans les Exercices," *Christus*, XIV (1967), 80-96.
- 66 See Thomas Clarke, "The Ignatian Exercises--Contemplation and Discernment," *Review for Religious*, XXXI (Jan., 1972), 62-69.
- 67 Devotion to the cross has always been a central part of Christianity, so central that it is *the* symbol of Christians. However, how the cross has been portrayed in art indicates how Christians' view of the cross changed in different eras. Thus in the early Church, especially of the fifth and sixth centuries, there was no body on the cross and it was portrayed as jeweled. It was a sign of victory. In the later Middle Ages it was portrayed with Christ on it in a way that emphasized his suffering. See Paul Thoby, *Le crucifix, des origines au concile de Trente* (Nantes: Bellange, 1959).
- 68 Both reasons are given together in the *General Examen*, [101].
- 69 *SpEx*, [136-147].
- 70 For example, in the Call of the King, Two Standards, and Contemplation for Obtaining Love.
- 71 Recall Ignatius' experience at La Storta, where there is what Joseph de

Guibert calls "the mystical granting of the prayer of the Two Standards" (Joseph de Guibert, *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice*, p. 38.

- 72 See Peters' discussion of the title "divina majestad" in *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*, pp. 50-54.
- 73 See Bernard Lonergan, "The origins of Christian realism," *Theology Digest* XX (Winter, 1972), 301-305.
- 74 Schillebeeckx is an example of the first: *Christ the Sacrament of the Encounter with God* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1963), esp. p. 57. David Stanley is an example of the second: "Contemplation of the Gospels, Ignatius Loyola and the Contemporary Christian," *Theological Studies*, XXIX (Sept., 1968), 417-443. This is an excellent article for one interested in this topic.
- 75 Chaudhuri, *Integral Yoga*, quoted in Claudio Naranjo, *The One Quest* (New York: Viking Press, 1972), p. 79.
- 76 The place of this exercise is disputed today. I hope that this study might offer a new perspective or help to answer the question. I find an excellent discussion of the elements and role of the Kingdom Meditation in *Spiritual Freedom* by John English (Guelph: Loyola House, 1973), pp. 106-23. The entire book is well worth reading.
77. For me, the meditation on the Call of the King has three possible roles: (1) it offers a focus or perspective to aid the retreatant in contemplating Christ's life; (2) it is a bridge between the first and second weeks, combining the experience of Christ's saving goodness with the realization of new possibilities to respond to him; and (3) it might possibly be a test in some cases to see if the exercitant is ready to pray to hear a call that could involve great sacrifice.

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